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On the Question of Arming the People.

IV.

The arming of the people must of course be done in an organized manner if it is to be of any value.

The simplest method would be to increase our militia so as to include the entire people, after the Swiss plan. Instead of the four regiments which Wisconsin now has, this state would then have about one hundred and fifty. Pennsylvania would have perhaps three hundred regiments, and a considerable part of this militia in west Pennsylvania, therefore, would consist of farmers.

This, as we have said, is a very simple and perfectly legal method of arming the people. But, nevertheless, it is the most difficult to carry out, because only the LEGISLATURES of the separate states can effect it. The plutocratic legislators of the "free" states of America, however, do not trust their "free" citizens as far as the Swiss legislators trust theirs. With us, the "representatives of the people" fear the people whom they pretend to represent. And the working class is a very long way off from controlling the legislatures of the different states.

Yet citizens of the lower middle classes also ought to hail this proposition with joy. It is not only the freedom of the wage-workers, it is the freedom of the citizens in general which is now threatened in this country.

In no European country, Russia perhaps excepted, is human life valued so lightly as in America. The Grand Turk, the absolute Sultan of the Ottomans, would never venture to fire a fusillade without provocation, like, for instance, our coke-barons in Stickle Hollow, Pa., or the "deputy sheriffs" in St. Louis, Mo. But we have become accustomed to reading in our papers such news from the coal and iron regions, or from the big cities whenever there is a large strike; in fact, the telegraph brings the same news from Colorado, Idaho and elsewhere on such occasions. These are not regular battles, such as for instance the Sultan fought with the Armenians, an open war, man to man, where force is opposed to force. The Pinkertons, hoodlums and "better citizens" who are sworn in as deputy sheriffs are well armed and well organized. They usually fire from a place of safety and without any danger to themselves, upon unarmed workmen assembled on the street or marching in the public highway. If Abdul Hamid, "the absolute lord of the faithful," should attempt this with his Turkish subjects, though accustomed to "despotism," would probably draw him in the Bosphorus without much ceremony.

And yet such things pass unpunished in our republic, "res publica."

Is not the freedom of every citizen in danger?

Let us imagine a case: Suppose the plutocrats of Pennsylvania or Illinois should take a notion to limit the right of suffrage by law to those persons who had at least \$500 yearly income, or a corresponding land property. Or, suppose they should work some scheme of disfranchisement of the workingmen, similar to the scheme that of late has been worked so successfully upon the negro in many Southern states. By even adopting a slight "census"—i. e., by tying the suffrage to a certain income—the greater part of the people would thus be deprived of their votes, but all the same, the plutocracy could safely trust their police, their sheriffs and also their militia (which now is composed of clerks and bookkeepers with young capitalists as officers) to uphold the new law.

The true people, however, would be unarmed and defenseless.

And the press? Why, the capitalist press, of course, would straightway beat itself to prove that the disfranchised by right never ought to have voted at all, especially since they never knew what to do with the right of suffrage.

And in that case the liberties of the lower middle class would also come to a sudden end.

Yet, although it would in reality be to the interest of the lower middle class to bring about a universal arming of the people, we can expect nothing from that quarter. The "professional men" and many "artisans" still ally themselves with the capitalist class, hoping to derive benefit from such association. And as for the small traders—these scared and nervous people have the same terror of the "red" specter today as their grandmothers of old had of all sorts of white and black ghosts. Usually our middle-class people only open their eyes in the second generation, after they have ceased to "hope."

True, the advocates of arming the people could point to the example of Switzerland, and cry out to our plutocrats: "The masses are always conservative, when they are treated half-humanely. It is better and safer for you to give the masses arms, and thus compel yourselves to treat them humanely. By suitable laws and real social reforms, the people's standard of living may be steadily improved, as in New Zealand. There would then be a possibility of at last solving the social question peacefully and without bloodshed."

But such a cry would surely die away like the voice of the crier in the wilderness. The capitalist class has the power, and against that power the arguments of common sense are just as unavailing as sentimental reasonances.

Just as little help from the capitalistic law-givers can be expected in this matter as in any other. The capitalist class will never increase the militia to such an extent as to include the proletariat.

The proletariat therefore will have to help itself.

The Knights of Labor might do a great deal. They should leave the contest in the economic field entirely to the unions, and like true "knights of labor" should form the moral and martial reserve guard of the workmen. Of course we have in view only cases of the most extreme necessity.

The Knights of Labor are perfectly organized and in their halcyon days they were well disciplined. We propose that these new knights form so-called uniformed ranks, like the Knights of Pythias, Knights of the Golden Eagle, and others. For workingmen and proletarians, gold lace, braiding and facings would be superfluous; a simple cap or a uniform but to give a military effect should be sufficient. In place of the expensive, antiquated and perfectly useless knighthood, we would recommend for arms modern Winchester or Mauser rifles of the newest construction, with the necessary belt. A good gun of that sort can be had for \$10 to \$12.

The whole thing should be considered and conducted from a purely patriotic standpoint only. It ought not to have any connection whatever with international Socialism. It ought simply to be the arming of the people in harmony with the American constitution, and for the purpose of preserving civil freedom in our own country.

The Knights of Labor have recently lost most of their members. However, they number still about thirty thousand men. We are convinced that the Knights of Labor would increase tenfold and maybe twentyfold as a result of their new mission. In the ranks of the capitalist militia, however, it would soon be impossible to find any honest workmen at all, and such as would be there could simply be set down as traitors and hirelings.

Care would have to be taken of one thing. No one should be received into the "Uniformed Ranks" who was addicted to the use of intoxicating drinks in any form. The why and wherefore for this is evident.

This plan may strike many as romantic, but it is not so by any means. Innumerable "knights" and church societies of all sorts and names are armed, some even with firearms.

But if the Knights of Labor refrain from such action, either through ignorance, cowardice, petty jealousy, stupidity or capitalistic jingoism, then indeed there remains only one other way.

Trades Unionists, Socialists, Social Reformers and other Radicals must form rifle clubs, athletic societies with rifle sections—of course not under a "red banner," but under the STARS and STRIPES, since this has nothing to do with the International, but on the contrary is a specifically American and patriotic idea. Such "rifle clubs" throughout the country could be easily united into an American Sharpshooters' Federation, which would lack the strict organization of the Knights of Labor. It is clear that these armed sections would not be unconstitutional. We have now quite a number of such societies, some with a religious cast—Catholic as well as Protestant—others simply for pleasure. Of course the workmen sharpshooters would have to abstain strictly from drinking, in order to give the state authorities no opportunity to disband and prohibit all such societies for the thoughtless act of some one individual. The leadership of these sharpshooter societies would also have to be placed in the hands of cool, considerate men.

We willingly admit that this expedient is not as good as the first two methods mentioned, since these societies would lack the thorough organization and moral discipline of either the militia or the Knights of Labor, still such armed sections would be better than nothing.

To sum up our conclusions:

Everyone must grant that at present the mass of the people are entirely disarmed, with the exception of the state militia, the religious societies—and the criminals. The real people, the great mass, are defenseless. They have no means of resistance against capitalism, and in consequence have become so enfeebled in comparison with the capitalists, that the latter dare on any pretext to shed the blood of workingmen. This fact has an overwhelming effect on the standard of living of the working class, since it makes successful wage strikes on a large scale almost impossible.

We read in the morning Sentinel (December 9) the following dispatch:

"Chicago, Ill., Dec. 8.—Representative labor men met at the Sherman house this afternoon and formed the McKinley Trades' Union Memorial Association of Illinois, for the purpose of raising funds among the union men of the state for the monument to be erected by the people in memory of the late President at his home and burial place at Canton, O. The funds contributed by union men are to have special recognition. It is said, in the general fund being raised by the National McKinley Memorial association. Trades unionists in other states will be asked to join in this movement. W. G. Edens of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Trainmen, at present superintendent of the free postal delivery system for the Western states, was elected president and James N. Brady of the Typographical union was made secretary. It was announced that the letter carriers have already collected \$500."

Now who are the "REPRESENTATIVE LABOR MEN" that formed the McKinley Trades' Union Association of Illinois? The answer is given in the dispatch. W. G. Edens of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, AT PRESENT SUPERINTENDENT OF THE FREE POSTAL DELIVERY SYSTEM OF THE WESTERN STATES, in other words a man who holds an extra fat job from the Republican party is the president. James N. Brady, a well-known Chicago labor fakir and office hunter and traitor to his class, is the secretary. And those present—the number and the names are not given—were no doubt of the same stripe. And the dispatch calls such hungry yellow curs "representative labor men." In connection with this the announcement that Chicago letter carriers had been bled to the amount of \$500 only shows that quite a number of Chicago letter carriers are afraid of their jobs, for one reason or another. Honest and enlightened workmen will condemn the insane deed in Buffalo, but there can be no possible motive for them to erect a monument to William McKinley, the representative of the capitalist class.

There are indications that the farmers in the New England, Middle Atlantic and Southern states will bring all possible pressure to bear to bring about the defeat in Congress of the proposition for federal aid for the irrigation of the arid lands of the West. According to dispatches sent out from Washington the Eastern representatives will make the subject of irrigation one of the bitterest contests that has been waged in Congress for many years. To a certain extent the fight will be sectional, but the Eastern and Southern representatives expect to have the aid of some of the members from the Middle and Northwestern states. The basis of the opposition of Eastern and Southern farmers is that it will largely increase the area of cultivated land and, for a time at least, bring about an unsettled condition among the farmers, and make farm products cheap.

The Eastern farmers seem to be in dead earnest. A letter received by a Minnesota member from a prominent Eastern man contains this query on the subject of irrigation:

"Do the Republican managers want to drive every Eastern farmer into the Democratic fold? If they do, let them enact a law providing for a national irrigation project."

This sentiment is typically capitalistic and it furnishes a splendid argument for making ALL LAND common property. According to an old saying, everyone who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, is to be considered a BENEFACTOR of the human race. And here are representatives of a civilized and progressive people—representatives of the "enlightened Eastern States"—representatives of the more intelligent one of the two capitalistic parties—threatening dire vengeance upon the government furnished by their own party, if that government dares to make hundreds of millions of acres of land HABITABLE—thereby not only supplying homes to millions of its citizens, but also aiding materially the welfare, the strength and the civilization of the ENTIRE NATION.

Apag-Satanas! Away with capitalism! thou art full of self-interest, avarice and petty jealousy, and altogether a stumbling block to a higher civilization.

The mainspring of corruption in municipal affairs is found in the fact that a few aldermen or officials have it in their power to give away or sell franchises to capitalists, who thereby make millions. The temptation thus afforded our public officials to try to secure a share in the millions thus given away, is too great for the average man, especially for the average "business" man and politician, to withstand. If the city would operate its public utilities, the motive and the opportunity for bribery would be gone, even if minor evils and breaches of trust might continue, owing to the corrupting

The killing of workmen has become almost a sport with some of our golden or gilded youth. But if all the people were armed, a BATTLE with workingmen would very soon furnish so much REAL EXCITEMENT for the capitalist heroes and their deputies that they would consider a long while before they started one.

And while we recognize as PERFECTLY CORRECT the Socialist tactics of introducing the new system by means of the ballot-box, that is, preparing new measures for the future in the Legislature; yet it must be clear to every man that this action, so far as it concerns the mode of living of the masses at present, is nearly useless. Indeed the effect of this agitation may be called in question even for the future. If we grant that the masses are deteriorating rapidly, and that in decisive moments they are perfectly helpless. But it should not be forgotten that the workingmen are hungry NOW—the promissory note on the Co-operative Commonwealth has no exchange value and will feed no man today.

influence of the capitalist system, which makes money-getting the sole object of life. The Social Democrats all over the world object to more competition in public utilities; more competition means more corruption.

Socialists look upon the contract system as a similar danger. It constantly induces contractors to bribe city officials on the one hand and to exploit their workmen on the other. Furthermore, it is always in the interests of the city that citizens earn decent wages; therefore, instead of the contractors, the labor unions ought to be encouraged. Every city in this country should stand pledged to employ only union labor, at eight hours a day, and should require the same of all contractors doing city work.

A report from England states that the government will bring before the next Parliament a proposition which will end the chief objection made to the conduct of the Boer war, by breaking up the concentration camps. The proposal, which will be introduced when Parliament re-assembles, is the distribution of the refugees in the settled districts, where they will be given greater comforts than is possible under the present system, which is an inhuman imitation of the inhuman "concentration camps" of the Spaniards in Cuba. These camps had not a little to do with preparing American public opinion for a war with Spain and their South African variety is at present agitating all Europe against England.

It is freely admitted in London that the plan of the continental Socialists to introduce measures looking toward simultaneous action on the part of all the powers toward the breaking up of these camps is responsible for this proposed step. The first of these motions to be introduced was in the Chamber of Deputies of Holland, where the Socialists have been persistent in their demands that their country intervene with England. The same plan was to be advocated for other nations, and has already been tried in France and Austria.

According to a dispatch from Brussels to the Standard, Holland has asked the powers to support her in a demand that the people in these camps be brought to Holland.

Only in our Congress nobody takes the part of common humanity in the matter of the South African "concentration camps." Our capitalist class is simply the flunkey of British aristocracy, and to the disgrace of the American working people there is not a single Socialist in Congress.

How about Milwaukee sending the first one?

The fact is, disguise it as we will, the poor workmen will never have more in this country until the rich capitalists have less. The approach to justice cannot be reached by charity; we would not have it, if it were possible. It must be done by taxation and a very thorough Social Reform or it will be done by H— and Damnation. We must recognize that.

Why "kick" against those broken promises the Democrats made in this city? They can make some more just as good.

Why does a millionaire take a place in the President's cabinet at \$8000 a year? Is it not for the honor of the position? Who says that Socialism would take the premium away from statesmanship, in that there would be no incentive for individual achievement?

The great successful capitalists are the "dangerous class" in this country. Let them also be branded with the mark of Cain, for they too are their brother's murderers.

The people can pay a few capitalist advocates about \$5000 a day to lay around the halls of Congress in the interest of a few monopolists. The people can pay hundreds of millions every year to the same monopolists under the pretext of "protecting industry." But the people can do nothing to keep hundreds of thousands of its most useful citizens from starving. And the people can do nothing to assist in their old age millions of the creators of our civilization.

A man who is thrown out of work and compelled to wander about in search of employment is a "tramp." Arrest him and send him to the house of correction. A man who never worked in his life and has spent his days in debauchery because his father was an expert exploiter is called a "gentleman." Elect him as the representative of the people and send him to the Senate. That's what is called the capitalist system.

Our city ought to afford the protection of the law to such of its citizens as are unable to afford it themselves, by employing (or appointing) a sufficient number of public attorneys, who should conduct just cases of the poor free of cost.

WHAT WE ANTICIPATE.

In answer to many questions:

We confidently anticipate that within thirty years the people of the United States will have committed themselves definitely to industrial REORGANIZATION on lines of Socialism—that is to say, the national policy will be the setting aside of the private management of industries conducted on the largest scale in favor of an organization and management of these industries on a national basis without regard for profit and in the interest of the whole people.

That is probably all that we can possibly do within thirty years, according to our present understanding.

We expect in the meantime, and in the near future, a SERIES of extraordinary demonstrations on the part of the people, which demonstrations cannot possibly be peaceful in character, especially if the capitalists do not listen to reason—and the probability is that they will not—there may be many deplorable instances of violence and bloodshed. The proletariat will no doubt be put down several times and without extra-great effort on the part of the capitalist class. But we can reckon on the help and co-operation of the lower middle class in the next generation, and upon the simple fact that the capitalist class after some bloody fighting will understand that it cannot afford continuous warfare, not only because capitalism essentially needs peace at home in order to be in working condition, but also because the proletariat can lose in dozens of revolutionary attempts and lose nothing, while the members of the capitalist class lose everything if they lose ONCE, even if capitalism should be restored temporarily afterwards.

On the other hand, we do not believe that one great war, or any war in itself, can bring about the new order of things. It could only bring forth a Caesar, or a committee of wretched Caesars. We believe that Socialism must be accomplished in the main by a peaceful revolution, and that the beginning of this revolution has begun quite a while ago. And simply to AVOID violence and bloodshed we recommend the general arming and disciplining of the people. The different classes will come to an understanding much sooner if they learn to RESPECT each other.

to them. At present the poor know of the law only when they feel its crushing effect. A poor person with a just cause has no standing in the courts unless some lawyer is promised a big share of the proceeds of the case; if there are no proceeds the poor person has no means of defense at all. Where is the "equality before the law?"

In municipal affairs, as everywhere else, the Social Democracy stands for every radical change that will bring means of production into the hands of the people. It believes in self-government for the city, in a just and equitable taxation, in the consolidation of city and county administration, and in the public control of the food supply in the interests of the public health and in the highest development of a responsible public service.

But we call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are in no way a cure for existing evils, nor are they necessarily socialistic institutions. They are to be viewed, rather, as needed palliatives, capable of being carried out even under present conditions. Under no circumstances should the working people rest content with municipal improvements which are merely temporary in their nature and must be entirely inadequate. They should move onward to the conquest of all public powers; to an entire change of the present system for one which shall secure to the people, collectively, the means of production and distribution.

While Socialists all over the world realize that pauperism and prostitution are the legitimate outgrowth of the present system, which submerges the lower stratum of the proletariat, it is well known that certain wealthy citizens in every city of the United States, and in some cities even churches derive profit from degradation through the rent of old rookeries, which are a menace both to public morals and the public health. Socialists all over the country ought to demand in their municipal platforms that all slum property be condemned and the ground cleared by the public authorities, and that, where advisable, the spaces so cleared be devoted to open air gymnasiums or for park purposes.

Christmas 1901.

"Peace on earth and good will to man." The good Christian people of this country and of this city are getting ready to celebrate Christmas. The prophecy came over 1900 years ago and has been repeated ever since.

But where is the peace? Where is the good will? Is there peace for the Catholic people on the Philippine Islands? Is there peace for intensely Protestant and pious Dutch farmers in South Africa? Is there peace anywhere else? Is there peace at any place in our country where capitalism has established its eternal warfare?

And capitalism is no doubt the milder and more humane form of warfare. It is more humane than was feudalism or any preceding epoch.

But where is the peace, where is the good will?

We have "good prosperous times" now. There is a great deal of money "made and lost on the different boards of trade." The capitalist papers claim that there is plenty of work for everybody and that this country has never in its history known such a high degree of general prosperity than at the present time. We read that day after day.

And here is what we eloped from the Milwaukee Sentinel of last Sunday:

"Fully a THOUSAND FAMILIES are suffering for the necessities of life in Milwaukee today, the majority having their distress accentuated by the severe cold that arrived Friday. Hungry and cold are common visitors of midwinter in cities among the poor, but the extent of the suffering here is not generally realized."

The sudden coming of the cold wave found many of the poorest people entirely unprepared, and last night while the thermometer showed a temperature

of 20 degrees below zero, hundreds of women and small, pinched and blue-lipped children shivered under ragged and dirty covering in bare attics and fireless rooms, waiting for Monday, when they can apply for fuel and a bite to eat. Men from the Sentinel who took casual addresses from the poor lists of the Associated Charities and the county poor office found cases of utter destitution, cold and famished women and children, in numbers that would surprise the most heartless.

By Monday night the authorities expected to relieve the most intense cases of suffering, especially among the families where children and women are suffering.

Some of the cases of pitiable destitution found last night are as follows:

Emil Muelenberg, 345 Fifteenth street. Wife and nine children, ranging in age from 8 months to 15 years; no stove or fuel; four children without shoe salary, \$30 a month; mother parted with her baby that it might be kept warm.

John Amrhein, 1006 Chestnut street. Blind; wife and three children; peddles notions, led by child kept out of school for the purpose; children range in age from 2 months to 11 years; undertaker's and doctor's bills due for caring for and burying a child recently.

John Drumm, 1622 Cold Spring avenue. Wife and six small children, with another expected; no coal; husband out of work.

Mrs. Katherine Schneider, 420 Twenty-seventh street. Husband in prison for nonsupport; woman supporting four children, the oldest 5 years; washes and suits for livelihood; behind in rent and in absolute want; greatly discouraged.

Edward Clark, 836 First street. Out of work, with wife and five children; wife recently ill for two months; badly in want and is assisted by public charities.

Mrs. Thomas Edwards, 591 Third street. Husband in county hospital—a consumptive; five small children insufficiently clad; one working for \$1.50 a week; need food and fuel.

John Lytze, 815 Clybourn street. Blind, with wife and three children he tries to support by selling brooms; in depths of poverty, but says he is happy because he is able to walk and use arms.

Mrs. Rose Delic, 347 1/2 Jackson street. Widow with one small child living in single room; no source of income and rent overdue; owns half a bushel of coal and a can of cornmeal and some brown sugar; children barefooted and five found in one bed last night.

Mrs. Caroline Flosch, 253 Highland park. Widowed, old and feeble, on county poor list; lives with adopted son and niece; owns two unencumbered houses, one producing small rental; claims income inadequate.

Mrs. Guesseppe Danni, 340 1/2 Jefferson street. Widow, scrubs for living and supports destitute and dumb grown son; occupant of attic with stove but no fire; little food, some fuel and meager clothing; no lamp.

Mrs. Susan Boebler, 2428 Cherry street. Abandoned by husband and left with five small children; sews for living, making 50 cents a day; she says her children are crying for proper food.

This clipping is part of a two-column article in the ultra-capitalist Sentinel, owned by the Milwaukee street car magnate. And this "write-up" was supplemented on Monday by a long description of similar character. It was stated that 1000 families in Milwaukee depend upon the county, over 500 upon the Associated Charities for an existence. And how many are "too thankful" to apply to either of the official agencies of capitalistic charity? There can be no doubt that those "thankful poor," those who have some pride and maybe some manhood and womanhood left—which is usually pounded out of them by the "charity officials"—are the most intense sufferers.

This is the condition in Milwaukee, the city of homes, where over half of the people own the homesteads in which they live. What are the conditions in Chicago or New York?

Huxley, the great scientist, said a few years ago:

"Some time after I embarked on a voyage around the world, I had the opportunity of seeing savage life in all conceivable conditions of savage degradation. And in this experience of mine I found nothing more degrading, nothing so hopeless, nothing so intolerably dull, as the life I had left behind me in East London. If the alternative was presented to me to choose the life of one of those people in the East End or that of a savage, I would distinctly choose the latter."

This is civilization at the beginning of the Twentieth century. And for nearly 2000 years they have been singing about the "charity message" of "Peace on earth and good will to man."

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MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, DEC. 21, 1901.

HERALDRIES.

In the Chicago News, one day last
week, Marion Harland gave the follow-
ing bit of sapient advice to a correspond-
ent who was perplexed over the question
of "making a living": "Experience, like
all treasures, must be bought. Seven
years ago I said to a young man who
had just obtained his first position, 'If
you hope for success, be willing for two
years to do \$2 worth of work for \$1.'
He wrote to me last year, just after
getting a 'rise' that quadrupled the sal-
ary given him at the outset: 'If you had
said '\$5' in stead of \$2 you would have
been nearer the mark. That's what I
did.'"

Now the trouble with Marion is that
she does not treat her correspondents
fairly when it comes to giving advice
like the above. Perhaps it is because she
is afraid to discourage her young friends
by telling them the truth. The truth is
that they must be willing to work all
their lives, giving not merely "22 worth
of work for \$1" for two years, but \$2 to
\$5 worth a day for every year of his life
for \$1—when he is unfortunate enough
to have employment. Tell them the
truth, Marion; if you are not posted,
read up.

As an example of the declaration that
the "ethics of Socialism are identical
with the ethics of Christianity," take
that instance which came to light in
Milwaukee the other day. Buhie Yvonne
is a child actress, 12 years old. The
child's earnings were used for the sup-
port of her mother, a consumptive, who
died a little over a month ago. The
friends who were interested in her fu-
ture sought to have her admitted as a
pupil at Kemper Hall, a Christian nemi-
nary at Kenosha. She was denied ad-
mission on the ground that, "having
been on the stage, she is not a fit com-
panion for the girls in the school and
would contaminate"—the products of
Christian ethics. The officials at the
Grafton school, Fond du Lac, when this
child knocked at the door, said they
"had no teachers fit to instruct a child
of that class." And that was quite
true. If the ethic of Socialism is iden-
tical with such an exhibition of ethical
"development" the world can do without
it. But it isn't. The two codes are not
identical.

Since the death of Richard Wagner,
the eminent composer, his widow has
had practical control of "Parsifal," one
of his greatest productions and which
has never been presented outside of Bay-
reuth. The copyright expires in 1903 and
the Wagner family is seeking an exten-
sion. To this there is great opposition
which is being led by Bebel and Richter,
Socialists, Herr Strauss and other mu-
sicians, who contend that "Parsifal" is
a great heritage of which the people of
the world should not be robbed. The
present owners will petition the Reichs-
tag, but Bebel and Richter are support-
ed in their opposition by the musical
profession, including Wilhelm Tappert,
Richard Wagner's intimate friend.

J. P. Morgan is now reported to have
his agents in the soft coal fields with a
view to purchasing the mines and con-
trolling the output of bituminous coal.
The agents conclude an interview with a
small operator by leaving a contract
which gives them an option on the prop-
erty, expiring February 1. Several dis-
tricts in Iowa have signed the option
upon a hint that they MUST either
"Sell or be driven out." This capitalist
confiscation, however, is teaching the peo-
ple a thing or two.

In order to suppress Socialism, the
Russian government has been sending
Russian Socialists to Siberia. Now we
learn that, in consequence of the indus-
trial development of Siberia, the Sibe-
rian workers have begun to organize
themselves, and the name of their new
organization is "The Democratic and So-
cialist Alliance of Siberia." Perhaps
the next move will be to send Siberian
Socialists back to Russia.

When Sam Gompers in the Federation
meeting objected to printing Max Hayes'
list of injunction and other instances of
labor's experience with capitalist courts,
he knew that he was up against the real
thing. Such a record would prove too
much and Sammy frantically declared
it would prove just what it was intended
to prove.

It was quite unnecessary for the Amer-
ican Federation to adopt a resolution
denouncing the British government for
the war against the Boers. The Amer-
ican people have been heard from on that

subject. The refusal of the federation
can have no effect on the general ver-
dict.

Zevans and Pelletan, Socialist members
of the French chamber of deputies, sup-
port a proposition to suppress the budget
of public worship. This is in line with
Socialist principles. Let religious insti-
tutions stand on their own merits, with-
out being bolstered up by the state. Let
those who want them pay the bills.

From English statistics it is learned
that the coal mined last year amounted
to \$330,000,000 and the wages received
by the miners amounted to \$37,000,000—
about one-sixth. It would be interesting
to know positively if the ratio is the
same in this country. It is said to be.

Senator Frye has introduced a new
ship subsidy bill. It is new only in the
fact that it provides favors for certain
classes of ship-owners excluded by the
terms of previous schemes. It is the
same old graft and should meet the
same fate as its predecessors.

Archbishop Ireland's declaration in
New York that he had "not met the
workingman who does not realize he can-
not secure a living for himself unless
there be capitalists," only shows how
limited his knowledge of workingmen is.

We will begin next the publication in
three installments of a thoughtful and
highly interesting lecture on Jean
Paul Marat, the noted French revolution-
ary character, by Seymour Stedman.

The Cost of Living.

One of the subjects which President
Roosevelt did not mention in his mes-
sage, although he made a pretense of
dealing with the labor question, was the
increased cost of living during the past
few years, which, it is the boast of Re-
publican spokesmen, have been the most
prosperous the country has known.

According to Daa's Review, which is
the best compendium of information pub-
lished, a year's supplies for the average
man now stands at the cost of \$101.07.
In July, 1897, the same amount of sup-
plies would have cost only \$72.45. This
shows that the average American is now
paying 29 per cent. more for his supplies
than he paid in 1897, when the great
trusts, which now dominate the trade of
America, were in process of formation.

An increase of 29 per cent. in the cost
of a man's supplies practically means a
decrease of 29 per cent. in the purchas-
ing power of every dollar he earns, for
house rent and service have increased
just as much as supplies. The prices in
Dua's are compiled by multiplying the
quotations of all the necessities of life
by the per capita of consumption, and
great surprise is expressed that, despite
great improved methods of manufac-
ture, the production of agricultural crops
by labor-saving machinery and improved
methods of distribution, there should
have been such an enormous increase in
the cost of the things that we eat and
drink and wear.

This showing of actual conditions by
the acknowledged American statistical
authority, effectually disposes of the
claims of Republican newspapers and
politicians that the workingman was get-
ting more for his money than he ever
got previously.

On this subject the Chicago American
says: "Under present conditions, it is ac-
curate to say that a man who, in 1897,
earned \$100 a month, if he has an aver-
age family dependent upon him, is now
only earning \$71 a month. Yet we have
been having three years of apparently
great prosperity. It is pertinent to ask who
has been getting the 29 cents that have
been taken out of every man's dollar
since 1897. We believe the correct an-
swer to be that the manufacturers, dis-
tributors and capitalists of the country
have taken that amount of money away
from their fellow citizens."

Dun's report as effectually puts an ex-
tinguisher on Mr. Roosevelt's claim that
the rich are not getting richer nor the
poor poorer. As we proved last week,
defenders of capitalism, like Roosevelt,
will have to find something else to "dis-
pute."

The Cheapest Man in America.

Some of our Socialist papers are try-
ing to have some fun with the Appeal to
Reason in its present fight with the post-
office department because that paper has
persistently cited the public postoffice as
an example of practical Socialism. We
have nowhere seen any reference to the
department's treatment of labor, how-
ever, and this is a far better way of
judging its "Socialism." The cheapest
man in America is employed by the United
States postoffice. Even the best paid
men who do really laborious work, such
as the collection and delivering of mail
matter undoubtedly is, are not enjoying
much of a snap. Ed. J. Cantwell, secre-
tary of the National Association of Let-
ter Carriers, is speaking recently of the
efforts of that association to secure more
equitable adjustment of the salaries of
the men who handle the mails, said:

"We will renew and redouble our
fight this winter to secure the pas-
sage of the bill to increase the pay of
the letter carriers, and if our national
lawmakers are open to argument we
will win. Under the present law letter
carriers in cities of more than 75,000
inhabitants, after a service of five or
six years, receive only \$1000 per an-
num, which is the highest they can
get, and the highest pay received by
carriers in cities of less than 75,000 in-
habitants is \$850 per annum. But
they must serve at least five years,
starting in at \$800 per annum, before
reaching the \$1000. What we ask Con-
gress to do is to grade the salary so
that the first year the carrier will re-
ceive \$800, the second year \$900, the
third year \$1000, and the fourth year
\$1200; that is, in cities of over 75,000
population, and in cities of less than
75,000 the highest salary will be \$1000
after three years' service."

Mr. Cantwell does not tell how this
"socialistic" postoffice department treats

the men before they get an opportunity
to start at \$50 a month.

When you are in danger of being car-
ried away by such pretexts on "the
welfare of the wage-earner," as found a
place in Roosevelt's message, pause and
reflect over this fact: That the United
States government, through its "socialis-
tic" postoffice, makes a contract with
men to act as substitute carriers for \$5
a year. Sometimes a man will
serve as a substitute for a year
before he has a chance for regular
employment at \$300 a year. Hundreds
of these "subs" are sworn in to do ser-
vice at the munificent "salary" of \$5 a
year and scores of them get so discour-
aged that they never enter the grade
which pays a living wage. Many of
them in cities like Chicago have been
known to go in debt or starve while
hauling on to the prospect of getting a
regular appointment. And this is not all;
the government compels them to report
every day for duty when the only prob-
able duty is an occasional half-day's
work in place of a regular who is sick,
except when there is a rush of public
business, as is the case at Christmas
time. The postoffice substitute carrier is
the cheapest man in America.

Red-Hot and Still Heating.

"Your grand paper is simply 'red-hot
and still a-burning.' I most emphatically
indorse your views concerning laboring
men arming themselves. I believe it is
the best thing they can do. I was in the
war of the '60s and I am ready to should-
er a musket again if necessary, and it
will be necessary before many years. I
like the Herald all the way through.
It is not afraid to speak the whole truth.
I don't think I can thank you enough
for the paper. Every Socialist and every-
body who ought to be a Socialist ought to
subscribe for the Herald. Go on in the
good work. How to the lie; let the
chips fall where they may."

J. F. SANDERS, M. D.

Bloomington, Ill.
J. P. Anderson, Marshalltown, Ia.:
"I send 50 cents to renew my subscrip-
tion. I can't thank you enough for your
regular ration of good sense. I like the
Herald extremely well. You have vast-
ly improved it since you have moved to
Milwaukee."

G. E. Lind, Chicago, Ill.: "Your pa-
per has improved wonderfully since its
removal to Milwaukee. I want to sug-
gest that you change the name of the
Herald to 'The People's Herald' and give
your readers 'revolutionary' Socialism. The paper is
excellent."

W. M. Asb, Delta, Col.: "I am much
pleased with The Herald."

F. Hodder, Logan, Utah: "I am an
old subscriber. I have read The Herald as
long as I can see to read it, if you keep
it up to its present quality."

J. R. Jones, Edwardsdale, Pa.: "The
paper has improved wonderfully of late
and I wish you success."

M. D'Allesandre, Hartford, Conn.: "I
like the paper so well that I can't get
along without it."

RELENTLESSNESS OF MODERN CAPITALISM.

The civilization that fails most miser-
ably to recognize the sacredness of human
life is unworthy of the name, and the
Christianity that fails to protect the
weak and ignorant and to mete out jus-
tice in an abomination in the nostrils of
God Almighty. We may say today like
the prophet of old: "BEING NO MORE
SINNERS OBLATIONS TO ME; I AM
SICK OF YOUR MEAT OF-
FERINGS; GO WASH YE AND
MAKE YE CLEAN AND PUT AWAY
THE EVIL OF YOUR DOINGS."

Anyone who will read the subjoined re-
port of the Chicago Times of Sunday,
November 24, will feel humiliated as a
member of our present day civilization,
to say nothing as a Christian. The cold-
blooded, inhuman butchery of 800 help-
less blacks for a few pounds of rubber
and the wicked robbery of thousands of
others under pretense of payment, giving
but a cent a day for products valued at
seventy-five times as much, exceeds in
bloodthirsty capacity any record the
world can furnish. How long, oh Lord
God, shall such hellishness be permitted
in a world that dares to call itself civil-
ized? If the instances of such doings
were related we might find a semblance
of an apology. Right in our midst bor-
ders are perpetrated without scarcely a
single protest; poor workers are burnt
up in fire traps of buildings by the score;
unfortunate miners are burnt and suffo-
cated from the parsimony that prevents
proper ventilation of mines, being ac-
cused. On all sides today we see the ab-
solute indifference to human life and suf-
fering. Again and again the Socialist
papers, the only ones, champion the cause
of humanity and justice, yet the minions
of capitalism are striving to stifle these
advocates of Jesus' methods and crucify
him yet again. WILLIAM SAUL.

Mr. Edgar Canisius, an American, who
for five years was in the employ of the
Congo Free State and of one of the con-
cessions of rubber and minerals, being
asked as to the position of affairs on the
Congo, said:

"The recent statements of Capt. Le-
maire, missionaries, and others, that the
condition of the country has shown some
improvement of late, are, in a way, true.
At the foot of the mountain of the
Belgian Congo, certain restrictions
have been placed upon the companies
working concessions in the Free State,
which have brought about some amelior-
ation of the condition of the natives in
the regions in which those companies op-
erate, but the vast majority of the natives
in the supply of rubber; but, up to the
time I left the fur interior in March
last, no improvement had taken place so
far as the operations of the state itself
were concerned. I challenge the authori-
ties at Brussels to show that any im-
provement is possible while the rubber
traffic is conducted on the present iniqui-
tous lines. What can be expected of a
system under which the natives receive
the equivalent of one penny per pound
(paid in merchandise valued at 100 per
cent. above invoice price) for rubber
which fetches three shillings a pound at
Antwerp? The state cannot exist with-
out rubber, and the natives will not work
on such terms, except at the muzzle of
the rifle. This is the crux of the whole
business. As late as November of last
year in my own district a force of state
troops, assisted by some of the Belgian
companies' men, under the command of
Lieut. Braeckmann, went against the
Gwakwa tribe for refusing to bring rubber
to the post of Libanza. Three weeks
later, when they returned, the Belgian
officer himself told me that 300 Gwakwas
had been killed."

They brought back forty or fifty pris-
oners, mostly women and children.
These were like skeletons when they
reached my post, and I did my best to
provide for them with food. One died of
starvation in my post, and the others
were marched on to the police post of
Bokou, where three died. British troops
Last year I was on a rubber expedition
with Maj. Lothaire, and during the six
weeks it lasted 900 natives were killed

and scores of villages burned. On one
occasion during this journey a young
woman and a little boy who were pris-
oners with the column were asked the
name of the village through which we
were passing. They replied that they
did not know—as indeed was most prob-
able, seeing that they were far distant
from their own homes—but they were
taken out on the road and a shot while
the column halted.—London Chronicle.

Debs Epigrams.

The capitalist system places idealism
on the throne and industry in the jail.
Rockefeller's Standard Oil university
is a pillared pile of public plunder.
Capitalism makes criminals of men;
Socialism makes men of criminals.
Government ownership of railroads is
better than railroad ownership of gov-
ernment.

I hope to live long enough to see the
term "servant" relegated to the limbo of
the obsolete.

Mortgages do not suffer from indiges-
tion; they are never nauseated with loss
of appetite.

If the hand of corporate capital could
reach Old Sol, there would be no meter
on every sunbeam.

Capitalism has reduced the wage-
worker to a tramp, his wife to rags and
his child to machine oil.

I would rather be a slave than a mas-
ter, upon the principle that I would run-
dle the victim than the beneficiary
of a crime.

With all my heart I protest against a
system in which the lap dogs of the rich
are the social superiors of the children of
the poor.

If the capitalist system were in op-
eration in the celestial kingdom, it would
not be long before heaven's supreme
court would be debauched to obtain a
decision that the command "Thou shalt
not steal" is unconstitutional.

Only a Milton would be equal to the
task of depicting the wreck and ruin
brought by the capitalist system in a
"which should be a paradise."

The millions of wage-earners do not
own themselves; they are wage-slaves
and their masters control their lives and
subject them to conditions as degrading
as those which existed in times of chat-
terbox slavery.

Socialism would work out the redemp-
tion of the wage-slave without a san-
guinary conflict. It unfurls to the wind
no battle banners except those inscribed
with peace and good-will to man.

Many a man is poor in purse may be
rich in principle.

There is no reciprocity between the
machine and the child; while the child
feeds the machine, the machine starves
the child.

The Class-Conscious Appeal.

Some are offended at the class-conscious
appeal of Socialism. This is because they
do not rightly understand its meaning.
Socialists have no thought of arraigning
one class against another class as indi-
viduals; class-consciousness does not
mean class-hatred. Let us admit that
Socialists sometimes give utterances that
have the class-hatred ring about them.
Class-consciousness is this: That nothing
but the spirit and genius of Socialism can
blotter a controversialist as Karl Marx
says that of all men Socialists can afford
to be tolerant and kindly towards the cap-
italist class, knowing that class to be
the victims of a system as truly as the la-
borer. What the Socialist does mean by
class-consciousness is this: That nothing
can obviate the hideous fact that one
class of human beings is living off another
class; that a capitalistic class is heap-
ing up the produce of the producing class.
And he appeals to labor to become class-
conscious, because he knows perfectly
well that labor cannot achieve its own
freedom nor the produce of its labor,
until he becomes conscious that he is
the real producer and the owner of the
earth. Capital lords and landlords will
exist, and despoil the earth with economic
and military wars, until the disinherited
labor of the world rises to nobly take
class-consciousness in its own hands.
The laborer is willing to be a mere wage-
earner, so long as he is led about by
politician and agitator, so long as his
weariness and poverty, his dependence
and hopelessness, so cut out his nerve
of soul and body that he will not act,
just so long as his condition is worse
and worse. Labor must achieve its own
liberty, if it is ever to be achieved. Lib-
erty cannot be handed down by a superior
class to an inferior class; it has never
been so achieved and ought not to be so
achieved. If liberty were something that
could be imposed upon one class by an-
other, it would be presented as a gift
from superiors to inferiors, it would van-
ish in a night. Men are not free until
they have won and established their free-
dom in experience, and in the power of
their own manhood. The class-conscious
appeal is not for strife or hostility or
vengeance, but for the purpose of con-
structive and spiritual purity and ad-
vance. The end of Socialism is the aboli-
tion of all classes and parties, and the
coming in of but one class, the people,
with opportunity for every man to pro-
duce his own living.—Herren.

Kicks on Work of Organization.

Editor The Herald: Dissatisfaction is
heard on all sides in regard to organizing
our party. The comrades say that no
mention is made of this work in any of
the papers except when some organizer
draws his pay. And that the papers are
paid to do this work and carry or-
ganizers' credentials in their inside pocket,
never even mention this work when
making speeches, nor speak of doing the
actual work itself. When you come to
consider that the very life and future ex-
istence of our party depends entirely on
getting people together in the different
towns, cities and states of this country,
and that none of this work is being done,
you should not be surprised at the slow
growth of our party. How long will the
party exist, if no new blood is got in to
carry on the work for Socialism—when
the heroes who are fighting the battle
at the present time must lay down their
arms on account of death, old age, idlen-
ess and inability to pay dues? The
great insurance companies as well as tra-
ditional societies prove this statement to
be true, as they are compelled to give the
matter of getting new members most of
their attention or they could not exist.

Great care should be taken by the
state or national board in selecting or
electing organizers. The working class is
the only class that will or can be induced
to become Socialists or join our party at
the present time, and if this is true, it is
also true that one of the best way of
class or a working man should be selected
as organizer, as no other man can
reach them or get their attention. A
great mistake is made in sending these
reverend gentlemen, who are trying to get
credit through "Faith, Hope and
Charity" through the door of the
wage-slaves of our country, and if these
pious two-thousand-dollar beauties are
allowed to draw pay for work they can-
not or will not do, then very soon the
Socialist party will have every broken-
down peddler of piety and ten command-
ment peddler on its hands, and if these
his deacons on its hands, and if these
But you may ask what are the qualifi-
cations an organizer must have to be

IS HE A CAT OR A BLACK CAT?

By
ISADOR
LADOFF.

Exactly, Comrade A. M. Simons, come
and let us reason together. Let us start
our colloquy with a few assumptions.
Let us assume that you wrote a book,
"The Mission of Socialism," and devoted
a chapter to the explanation of the true
meaning of the term catatym and revolu-
tion as antitheses to the term evolu-
tion. Among other things you said:
"Critical Socialism must necessarily look
upon social economic catatym as the
great French revolution, not as causes of
a change in social economic forms of life
and activity, but as their inevitable con-
sequences. In view of these facts, it is
rather humiliating to see and hear Social-
ism identified with obsolete Jacobin
catatym aspirations, as it is frequent-
ly the case in our own time of general
confusion of causes and effects in social
life. Socialistic or rather pseudo-Social-
istic Jingoism is just as contemptible as
any other indulgence in irrational misuse
of language."

Let us then assume that I am a "pro-
fessional Socialist," that I am now editor
of a Socialist monthly publication. An
editor I am unfortunately enough to be
able to review your book, personally
after having read it through and under-
stood its contents to the extent of my
ability. Let us further assume that you
wrote an article devoted to the analysis
of the terms Utopian and scientific as
designations of certain phases of Social-
ism and said incidentally in this article:
"The proverbial discussions among dif-
ferent factions of Socialists are mostly
due to Babylonian confusion of tongues.
In the United States, for instance, we
have two distinctly defined currents of
Socialism, the so-called Revolutionary or
orthodox current, and the progressive or
evolutionary current. Let us now make
the case more and final assumption, that I
read your article on Utopian and Scien-
tific Socialism and attempted to pre-
sent "the other (?) side" in a special
article and tried to do it with all my might
to make the public believe that it in you
who classify Socialists in two groups—the
Revolutionists and Evolutionists, and said
among other things: "It is a fundamen-
tal rule of any scientific classification that
it must at once be inclusive of the whole
subject matter classified, and that the
various classes shall be mutually exclu-
sive. Both of these rules are broken by
the classification of Comrade A. M. Si-
mons, and I will at once agree with him
that his idea of scientific Socialism is
sounding, that his Socialism at least is not
scientific. I now wish to show that it is
meaningless as to mutual exclusiveness."

Then I proceeded in this my article and
devoted about half a page to the restat-
ment of your arguments against the use
of the terms Revolution and Revolution-
ary as antitheses of evolution and evolu-
tionary and rounded up my escapade with
the following triumphant tirade: "In
view of these facts, and that therefore
revolution is but one of the steps in evolu-
tion, it is as silly to contrast the two
as to classify felines into the two great
classes of black cats and white cats. Ex-
actly, Comrade A. M. Simons. Let us
be frank with each other. What would
you think about me if I would do such
things and say such things, under one as-
sumptions? Would you not think that I
am a—well, of course, being a gentleman,
you would abstain from telling me in so
many words what you actually think
about me and limit yourself to the state-
ment that I do not take the trouble of
arriving at conclusions and prefer to
jump at them, that I am not a thinker,
but a jumper."

"If we drop now our polite assumption
and substitute your name for mine and
versum—we will have the actual facts
in the case. Anybody who actually
English and is in full possession of his
mental faculties cannot help seeing that
I, in my book, as well as in my article
in question, expressed my opinion of the
term Revolutionary as an antithesis to
evolution and considered the term Revo-
lutionary as applied to Socialism as mean-
ingless. I therefore took the liberty to
appeal from Philipp drunk to Philipp so-
ber, from A. M. Simons the jumper to
A. M. Simons in other capacities, and
ask him to state candidly (if he can do it)
which of us "succeeded in producing
the more well pass for a prize puzzle
in terminology and logic?"

A. M. Simons is a jumper not only by
nature, but by inclination like me. He
is therefore not satisfied with one ante-
mortem, but exhibits a series of elaborate
somersaults in his article.

For instance, I said in my article:
"THE REVOLUTIONISTS CLAIM
the exclusive monopoly of 'scientific' So-
cialism and CONSIDER THEIR OP-
ponents as UTOPIANS. The 'Revo-
lutionists' would not CALL THE
SELVES SCIENTIFIC and ALL
OTHER SOCIALISTS UTOPIAN if
they dared to reason independently for
themselves, if they would learn to for-
get instead of forgetting to learn. This
seems to be the method of Comrade A.
M. Simons, however, proceed and let
us hear in his answer for the other side: 'Here
HE (that means the writer of these
lines) MAKES THE TERM UTOPIAN
AND SCIENTIFIC SERVE AS
POINTE D'APPUI. OF THESE SAME
THESE SAME SCHOOL, I shall at-
tempt to make Utopian and Scientific
parallel classification with evolutionary
and revolutionary is truly confusion
simply confounded and becomes mere
wordy jargon.' Exactly, Comrade
Simons; you not only ignore the fact

that my entire article is directed against
the use of the terms "Utopian" and
"Scientific," as meaningless and confus-
ing, but have the audacity to attribute
your own indefiniteness and unintelli-
gibility to the author of the article you
undertook to criticize.

Comrade Simons objects to our defini-
tion of Socialism and claims that Social-
ism is a science. According to his logic
capitalism must be a science of an op-
posite kind to Socialism—its antithesis.
If Socialism is a systematic collection of
facts and explanation of facts, capital-
ism as its opposite must be a collection
of facts of an opposite order to Social-
ism. In this way we would have as
many sciences as there were stages of
culture and civilization. We would have
a science of cannibalism, a science of
slavery, a science of serfdom and fenda-
lism. Truly Comrade Simons' definition
of Socialism is "fearfully and wonder-
fully made." What puzzles him is obvious-
ly the immense complexity and innu-
merable details of Socialism. He does not
grasp the fact that Socialism has to be
considered from so many different points of
view before being rightly understood in
its entirety. He does not understand
how the strictly individualistic lastia-
of self-preservation developed into race-
consciousness, how the last gave birth to
emotional Socialism, how on this basis
of emotionalism grew the marvellous
system of critical Socialism. He does
not see that critical Socialism inevitably
leads to constructive Socialism and that
the last will be instrumental in building
up a new stage of Socialistic culture and
civilization.

Comrade Simons does not like to rea-
son patiently and logically himself and
does not consider it necessary to reason
out patiently and logically other people's
thoughts. As Rochefoucauld says:
"Minds of moderate caliber ordinarily
condemn everything which is beyond
their range." Alas, Comrade Simons,
you are not only condemning everything
which is beyond your range, but attrib-
ute to people ideas which are also be-
yond your range, thoughts they never
dreamed of. You are accused of jump-
ing at them and huri at them their own
mean intermixed with your vituperative
terminology. Instead of welcoming new
thoughts you try to scare them away
with abuse and forced irony. Character-
istic, for instance, is his objection to one
of my definitions of Socialism (as a
philosophy of life). He does not like the
phrase self-consciousness, because it is
new to economic thought; it is not to the
language. He does not like my definition
of Socialism because it is not in agree-
ment with what for fifty years has
been known as Socialism. Comrade Si-
mons thinks that fifty years of history
ought to assure Socialism against any
sacrilegious rough handling on the part
of irreverent heterodoxy. He then at-
tacks us for claiming that Marx is, in
his economic works, more a follower of
Kant than Hegel, and that he would
consider himself a disciple of Kant
only in case he would uncritically
nodd with slavish pedantry absorb all
the accidental and incidental idiosyncra-
sies of the teacher according to the say-
ing: "Wie er spricht, also spricht man."
He, however, forgets that that is an
immense distance between master
minds like Marx and us common mortals.
Marx took from Kant the most
essential part of his philosophy and left
the rest for his disciples to accomplish.
Comrade Simons' definition of Socialism
is a mere jargon, just as I do, and the term
of using it. One might conclude from
it, that he does not consider himself as
a Revolutionary and that he undertook
a "thump" the cause of "the other
side" simply as a knight errant who is
glad to defend his own party, but ac-
cidentally he steps forward openly as a Revo-
lutionist himself. In order to show that
he is in good company he cites the names
of Enrico Ferri, Karl Kautsky and Emile
Vandervelde. This, however, is an old
trick that will mystify nobody. Dwarfs
hiding behind giants accomplish done by
the opposite of what they intend to ac-
plish. By contact they appear smaller
than ever before. Our attacks against
the so-called Revolutionary and Scientific
Socialists were never directed against the
Socialists of the old world. We never
meant to utter slurs against Kautsky,
Ferri or Vandervelde, whom we es-
teem the higher esteem than we. I
defy Comrade Simons to tell us one real-
ly illustrious name among our American
illuminations of Revolutionary or Scientific
Socialism. I defy him to name one book
of lasting value written by some of our
domestic revolutionists. I defy him to
show us any original elaboration of a theory, any
significant criticism of doctrine done by
an American Revolutionary. All their lit-
erature consists in poor hash and relish
of what the old masters said long ago
a great deal better. There is a marked
sterility of thought and fruitlessness of
action about domestic Revolutionists,
who have succeeded so far in one theory,
namely, in making the very term Social-
ism obnoxious to the American proletari-
at. Were not you, yourself, Comrade
Simons, disgusted with the principles and
treat

THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

Selected from "The Rights of Man," by Lyman Abbott. Published and copyrighted by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901.

What is government? It is nothing less than the control of one man's will by another man's will. All government has two elements: authority and power. Authority is the right, real or assumed, to control the will of another; power is the ability to enforce that right despite the resistance, if it should be offered, of the person controlled.

Where either of these elements is lacking, no government does exist. Where no right to control is claimed, there is no government; Marc Antony's control of the mob in Rome was not government, for Marc Antony neither had, nor pretended to have, any authority to require the people to act contrary to their own wills.

Where there is no power to control, there is no government; while Charles I. was in prison, though he was still the nominal King of England, he did not govern England, for whatever his authority, he had no power. Power enforcing authority is essential to government.

Whether the fault is in the governed or in the governor, the government will lack stability if governed and governor are not in accord. The authority of the governor may be never so just, the power of the governor never so great, the stability of the government and the peace of the people under the government will be secured unless the government has the consent of the governed, express or implied, positive or negative.

To other elements we must look to make the United States republic just, but the consent of the governed makes it stable.

At the end of an exciting election in which a President is elected and a policy endorsed by only 700,000 plurality in a total of nearly fourteen million votes cast, the whole country acquiesces; and if any advocate of the defeated party should attempt to raise a revolt, Democrats would not be slow to suppress the revolt down. This fact secures peaceful four years to the country. But it does not secure four years of justice to the country.

The mere fact that the form of government does not suit the Protestants is not just ground for revolution. The justice of a government does not depend upon its form, although some forms are more apt to do equal justice than other forms; it depends upon the fidelity with which it fulfills the function of government, that is, with which it safeguards the rights of men and promotes his prosperity.

The resort to force is justified only by the extreme case. A man is born under a government, and he is born under a desire for another form of government is not such an exigency as justifies resort to force to overthrow the government.

Government is the control of a part of the community by another part of the community; it is a King, or an oligarchy, or a aristocracy, or by vote, or by force, or by any other means, and it is a million voters to which the opposing six million three hundred thousand voters submit, but in any case it is the control of a part by a part.

It is clear that the government is best when the best exercise control and the best competent and virtuous are controlled. But it is not less evident that the supreme and ultimate government is that in which the best in each man controls the inferior in each man.

This is self-government; and the more nearly any community approaches self-government, the more nearly it approaches the ultimate goal of all political organization. The end of government is mutual protection against injustice.

The possession of the powers of government gives to those who possess such powers the responsibility of determining when it is right to interfere in order to prevent injustice. A man is born under a government, and he is to be subject to that government, unless it fails to fulfill the functions of government; if it does so fail, and he cannot find adequate remedy for himself and his fellows by submission, protest or migration, the right of revolution exists; because the same right to organize for self-protection or government exists to overthrow the government when it becomes an instrument of oppression, not of protection.

There is no absolutely best form of government which, in any stage of the world, in any age of human development, best secures human rights; but the ultimate

mate form of government toward which history is gradually conducting the human race is that form in which every man governs himself, and therefore all men partake in the common functions of government.

The right of every man to work, and the right of every man to the product of his work, are fundamental rights. There is enough to be done, and the world is fruitful enough, to make it possible for every man, in the present stage of civilization, to earn enough to support himself, his wife and his children in comfort.

Any organization, political or industrial, capitalistic or laboristic, which impugns this right, prevents this work, or takes from the laborer the product of his industry, whether it be industry of the brain or industry of the muscles, without adequate compensation, is unjust. The first duty of society is to protect every man in his right to labor and in his ownership of the fruits of his labor.

Our present industrial system throughout the civilized world is based upon the private ownership of the common wealth. The common ownership of the common wealth, however, it has been attempted, has failed to furnish any adequate reward to enterprise, and so any adequate incentive to industry.

Communism in all its forms assumes in man a virtue which he does not possess, and fails to furnish that stimulus which is essential, not only to the production of the greatest wealth, but to the development of the best character.

If the present industrial system were overturned by a revolution, and the people were to become owners in common of the common wealth, the result would be a derangement of the industrial organization which would bring immeasurable suffering, accompanied with gross injustice, upon all classes of the community.

If the community thinks the private ownership and control of land is best for the community, it has a right to provide for such private ownership and control; but it has no right to provide for the private ownership and control by one man of another, against the protest of that other, though he be but a minority of one.

Society having provided for the private ownership and control of land, and individuals having invested their earnings in that land on the faith of that provision, society has no right to expropriate the land, to confiscate the property and destroy for the individual owner the economic values which it has itself created.

If, therefore, it were proposed suddenly to abolish all taxes on imports, on incomes, on personal and real property, and levy them all on land and its contents and on franchises, the proposition would involve an industrial revolution which would be at once inexpedient and unjust. But no such sudden change is possible.

The state, in establishing and maintaining a public school system, is not usurping a place of the church. It is primarily the function of the church to educate and secondarily the function of the state. The state has not interfered with or taken up the work that naturally belongs to the church.

The aim and the method of the church and the aim and the method of the state. The church, as we have seen, is, and always has been, in its teaching dogmatic. Its object is to impart truth to the student; but the object of the public school is not to impart truth to the student; its object is to impart power to the student to find truth for himself.

It is idle to tell busy men that they ought to go to the primary; idle because they are busy men; idle because politics takes all the time they can now give to it out of their business and personal affairs; idle because, when they get to the primary, they find a slate made up for them for which they must vote, or not in any grander age than this. There may be exceptions, but, generally speaking, the primary as at present conducted is a contrivance for enabling a few men to determine for whom the many may vote.

Sermons Without Preachers.

No. 8.

No worse case of destitution and pride has been known in years than that of the Johnson family.

When Policeman Cunningham went to the squallid place called home at 1741 West Fifty-ninth street, Chicago, not only was the house destitute of food, but the rooms were cold and damp, a fire being unknown for days.

Yet the mother dreaded that the misery and want which she and her seven little ones had suffered should be known beyond their door. Although neighbors, none too well off themselves in this world's goods, had endeavored to alleviate the sufferings of these little ones, the mother had refused their kindly aid and she hoped against hope that the sufferings of her little ones might remain in health and that it would not be necessary to accept public charity. But the walls of her little ones from cold and hunger became too painful and yesterday Mrs. Johnson was glad to receive the mere necessities that life might be sustained.

It is in the year of a little wooden store that Nicholas A. Johnson and his family live. This consists of his wife and seven children, the eldest a girl of 15, the baby still in arms. The house, if such a term can be given to the place, where the family scarce more than exists, is one of squalor and misery.

Furniture is Mortgaged.

The little furniture, broken and shabby as it is, that the few back rooms contain, is mortgaged for more than it is worth. In the little store in front of the room where the family live are lying several empty hamp bags and a few shins of hay. Mrs. Johnson, since the illness of her husband, has endeavored to support herself and her children by selling small measures of coal and grain to those families in the neighborhood who have to buy their fuel by the bushel basket. The two boys, John and Levi, whose ages are 11 and 9, bring this coal to the store from a coal yard a couple of miles from home, and then it is sold or peddled in the neighborhood.

It was in this way that I attempted to earn money enough to keep us from starving," said Mrs. Johnson yesterday, as she cuddled her babe in her thin, bloodless arms. "We did not make over 2 cents on a bushel of coal and not even that much on the chicken feed, but still we hoped that we would not need to ask charity."

"But times have got worse and worse. Each day we have had less to eat and then came a time when we did not have

money to buy even coal for ourselves. We bought it to sell we were paid over a dollar for what we got and then sold it out at an advance of 2 cents on the bushel. But after a while we could not even do that."

"Two weeks ago Mary, my oldest girl, got work in a box factory. She goes to work at 8 in the morning and she works till 10 at night, but last week she only made \$3.50, and \$1 of that had to go for medicines for her father."

Father is an Invalid.

This father lies upon a bed of pain, his half-starved body racked with rheumatism. A look of madness is in this man's eyes as he views the awful sufferings of his wife and little ones—sufferings that his wretched condition renders him helpless to relieve. Johnson, who is a carpenter by trade, ten years ago owned his little home and provided well for his family. Then the hard times that followed the World's fair set in. They affected Johnson and for months he had little or nothing to do.

He mortgaged his home in Cheltenham and lost his standing in the union through nonpayment of dues. More babies came and the wants of the older ones grew with their little bodies. As Johnson never had the money to regain his standing in the union he has had to earn his livelihood and that of his family by doing odd jobs. These did not pay particularly well, but as long as his health remained he kept at them, feeling sure that better times were in store for him and his.

A year ago, broken in health, this man almost gave up the struggle. Since that time he has worked to earn food for his little ones. A month ago he gave up the fight and has since that time been in bed.

A revolution is coming in the plate glass industry. The work of a whole week is to be done in twenty minutes! The Pittsburgh Plate Glass company, in its plant at Tarentum, Pa., is experimenting with the invention of H. K. Hitchcock, an Akron young man. At a test the expert glass maker of the company was present, and he reported that "the work was done in twenty minutes. Of course, there are some technicalities to overcome, but there are no fears on that score. Experts testify that the product is as good as that made by the old method, and that a great saving in operating expenses will result." This saving, it is stated, "will mean that a large part of the glass workers now in the employ of the company will be discharged."

SOMETHING WRONG SOMEWHERE.

Birds find their lodging in the eaves. Rats have their home in sewer or drain. Torpid, beneath the last year's leaves, The unmolested snakes remain; The little dormouse in her cell, Dug deep in roof of forest oak, Has slept since first the snowflakes fell, Secure, and has not since woken.

But women and men in the frozen street, Are homeless—homeless every night; And children, till the cold grey light, Trample the town with weary feet.

Deeper than frost, beneath the mold, Pierces its way the garden worm; The snail withdraws its horns from the cold.

The nest in her nest keeps winter term; Green-bee and bee and almy slug, And speckled elf have quarters warm; And wood-louse under the bark is sang; The earwig takes no wintry harm.

But women and men in the frozen street, Are homeless—homeless every night; And children, till the cold grey light, Trample the town with weary feet.

Many-legged centures, and those with wings— Hum-drum horset and toiling bee— All the rare and beautiful things

Insect life, that on earth we see, All the reptiles, and the that creep, All the rejoicing things that fly, Are laid in warm rest, fast asleep; None are exposed to the cutting sky.

But women and men in the frozen street, Are homeless—homeless every night; And children, till the cold grey light, Trample the town with weary feet.

The Wage Worker.

Wanderer without a home, dispossessed of Nature's gifts, doomed to a while life remains, and exploited of my own! Free! did you say? Yes, free to choose a master, or starve where plenty reigns.

Dear master: I offer myself to sell for wages, aye, my flesh and blood at market price—the worker's share—the cost to live.

Can I escape this cursed slavery—where shall I go? Roaming on this earth possessed by others, without the means of livelihood, how shall I produce my sustenance?

Master, have you no pity, can you see my starving wife and children, and only offer charity? Give me my own—ad charity I will not need.

Chained to the machine I feed, by the invisible bonds of economic slavery, with ever quickening speed I hasten, producing wealth for others to enjoy, and still they spur me on, till my eyes grow dim and my muscles lose their quickness. Then I catch a glimpse of the goal, which surround me and, weary of life, await the silent messenger with indifference, and fill a pauper's grave—murdered by the Capitalist System.—George Curtis.

He Stood by His Colors.

The attention of the Worker has just been called to another instance of abuse of power by teachers in the City College of New York, where, it will be remembered, an issue of the students' paper was confiscated and the editors threatened with punishment for inserting an article written by a young Socialist reflecting on Crokerism.

A few days ago one of the students, a young man named Sackin, who is an adherent of the Social Democratic party, came to his classes wearing the party button on his coat. His teacher noticed it and ordered him to take it off at once, and when he refused to do so, threatened to suspend him.

The student, however, was firm in his refusal to betray his colors, and an appeal was made to President Webb. The latter had to admit that he could not expel a student for wearing a Socialist badge, but he gave Sackin a lecture on the subject, telling him that "we will not tolerate Socialism or Anarchism in this college," and advising him to remove the button—which advice, of course, had no more effect than the subordinate teacher's threats.

A few days later, a considerable interest among the students, and there was a lively demand for S. D. P. buttons.

Comrade Sackin's refusal to how to the tyranny attempted by the teachers will have a good effect, and his example will be followed wherever the school authorities offer to interfere with the political affiliations of students.—The Worker.

Industrial Despotism.

"Private ownership of property has grown in the trusts, to be industrial despotism," declared Jesse Cox last Saturday, in an address on "Socialism and Democracy," before the Ironworkers' club. "The subject of this debate, but to my mind the two are not opposed. I consider Socialism merely an extension of Democracy, the adoption, in the government of industries and the management of wealth, of those principles which we have already adopted in the government of the State."

"We will be driven to this. Much as many of you condemn Socialism now, the time will come, if things continue in their present tendency, when you will welcome it."

"Instead of being ruled by the country, these combinations are coming to rule the country. And when they have reached the zenith of their strength, and grown arrogant in their despotism, you and I will be but too glad to make use of the only remedy which offers itself. We will take from these combinations their power over the wealth which belongs properly to the people. We will give to our government this wealth, to be managed for the benefit of the people instead of for the benefit of a few despots as it is now. And I am sure we may be confident that it will be managed as well as the affairs of our state are managed now."

"The paternalism of government is no new thing. It is a wise and excellent thing. In history the governments that have been the most advanced, the most civilized, have been those that have exercised the most functions."

"Not the governments of despots, which have prohibited this and that, and have said what a man should do and what he should not, arbitrarily, is not good paternalism, and it is far from what Socialism advocates."

"The general favor given these extensions of the functions of government is proof that the spirit of the times approves of Socialism. It is proof that the people are ready to accept of industrial despotism, the one course which offers permanent relief—the extension of the principles of Democracy to the government of wealth—will be adopted by the mass of our people without a struggle."

Twelve strikers among street railway men of Scranton, Pa., have been dragged into court for "libeling" six scabs.

Share yourself and enjoy the luxury by using one of our fine Premium Razors. We will send you one the first week in January for ten yearly subscriptions.

SOCIALISM DEFENDED BY CATHOLIC PRIEST.

Father McGrady to Archbishop Corrigan.

"Capital is That Part of Wealth Utilized in the Production of More Wealth."

Father Thomas McGrady, responding to a request from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, sent the following reply to Archbishop Corrigan's attack on Socialism:

In sending you a reply to the letter written by Archbishop Corrigan, I presume that the eminent prelate is not adverse to an intelligent discussion of his views. Since man is a rational being, and arrives at the knowledge of scientific truth by the exercise of his mental faculties, every candid inquirer invites criticism.

The Most Rev. Ordinary of New York states that Socialism is absurd, unjust and impossible. I maintain that the truth of these assertions cannot be demonstrated, and following the example of his grace, I will put my argument before the public, that those interested in the solution of the industrial problem may weigh the value of our respective claims.

The archbishop says: "The Socialist, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavors to destroy private property, and maintains that individual possessions should be common property of all. Each citizen will then have his equal share of whatever there is to enjoy."

With all due respect to his lordship, I wish to call his attention to the fact that this paragraph misrepresents the teaching of Socialism. False statements are very poor weapons in defense of truth, and while I do not believe that the archbishop is guilty of calumny, yet to the intelligent student of sociology, good intentions do not waver the error with a halo of glory.

Socialists never attempt to inflame the souls of the poor with the passion of envy, but with a sense of justice. They do not enslave the rich for their possessions, but they condemn the system that enables one man to accumulate a fortune on the unpaid toil of his unfortunate neighbor, and they demand the abolition of the system of wealth and the abolition of private property, but the absorption of private capital by the community. Under Socialism the laborer would get all that he produces, whereas today he works two hours for himself and seven hours for the benefit of his capitalist master. The laborer gets 15 per cent of the wealth that he creates and under Socialism he would get six times that amount.

With the fruit of his toil he could buy a house, furnish it with a library filled with the choicest works of literature and science, adorn it with paintings of his own hand, and the most refined and most delicate carving. The producer would own and use the product of his labor, according to his taste and desires.

Wealth consists of all those articles that have been modified by human labor so as to qualify them for the gratification of human desires. Capital is that part of wealth devoted to the aid of production, that part of wealth in the course of exchange, that part of wealth utilized in the production of more wealth. Capital is wealth, but wealth is not always capital. A residence is wealth, but not capital, for a residence does not produce more wealth. A family is wealth, but not capital, for it does not produce more wealth. For the same reason a library is wealth, but not capital; a private collection of paintings is wealth, but not capital; a yacht is wealth, but not capital. Socialists do not oppose the possession of private wealth, but on the contrary, wish to extend this possession to every child of our race will be a recipient of its blessings. They do not advocate the division of wealth, but staunchly maintain that a division is detrimental to the growth and development of the social organism.

At the present time under the domination of capitalism the producers get one-sixth of the wealth that they create and give the remainder to an army of social parasites. This is a very unjust division, perpetrated for the benefit of that class who are always here in the name of the workers, but who are attempting to prevent this division. The capitalists advocate the division of wealth for the enlargement of the dominant class, whereas Socialists endeavor to prevent division and maintain that those who produce the wealth should own and use the wealth that they produce. Capitalism is founded on the profit system, on the divine right of exploitation. Modern industry presupposes a vast army of employees who have nothing to sell but their labor power. If every man owned the means of subsistence he would not sell his labor power for the means of subsistence. Therefore capitalist production necessitates the expropriation of the toiling millions who are thus compelled to exchange their labor power for the necessities of life.

During the middle ages serfdom and the guilds were obstacles to the industrial supremacy of capitalism, for they hampered the unlimited exploitation of labor. The toilers of those days were protected by social customs. Their toil was laborious, but they were secure in their position, and had no anxiety about making a living, for their labor was certain and always brought its remuneration, and this state of affairs produced a spirit of independence. Before the dawn of modern industry the destruction of the guilds and the expropriation of the peasants were necessary steps, and the accomplishment of these purposes resulted in filling the labor market and supplying the capitalists with an army of wage slaves.

Modern industry demands a reserve force of labor, which may be called into requisition on short notice. Let us premise, for the sake of illustration, that the labor of each man is glutted, and the factories are closed, and one million of men are deprived of employment. The stagnation of this industry continues for two years, and in the meantime the army of super-numeraries emigrate to a foreign country. The market is finally cleared, and there is a demand for laborers. The capitalists cannot wait for a new generation to supply the vacuum created by the emigration of their quondam employees, for the shoe manufacturer must "make hay while the sun shines." Therefore it is necessary to have a reserve army in readiness for the call of capitalistic generals. In England there is a constant army of 700,000 unemployed and 900,000 paupers, and in times of industrial depression these figures are multiplied. In America we have our reserve force at all times in waiting for capitalistic exploitation, and this mighty army will be augmented with the centralization of our industries, and with the limitation of foreign trade, which entails the development of foreign capital and the intensification of competition in the markets of the world.

Since capitalism is founded on the exploitation of the toiler for the enrichment of the idle parasites, for the aggrandizement of the dominant class; on a division of the wealth created by the laborer for the benefit of a few; since it is founded on injustice and robbery, it is antagonistic to the innate rights of every man to enjoy the product of his industry, and for these reasons it is opposed by the disciples of Karl Marx.

Under Socialism the trusts and industrial corporations would be unionized, and co-operatively by all for the benefit of all. The profit system, as the extravagant waste of competition would be eliminated, thus multiplying the productivity of labor, and the vast dividends which accrue to the capitalists from the unpaid toil of their economic bondsmen, would be utilized to enhance the remuneration of the laborer, and advance the interests of the society. Seventy per cent of the population of the United States owns 3 per cent of the wealth which would make \$30 per person. Vast numbers of the laboring people are reduced to nomadic existence, compelled to tramp the country in quest of subsistence. In England there is a constant tide of humanity flowing from the agricultural sections to the manufacturing cities, and back again to the rural districts.

Conditions are not much better in the land of Columbus. The peasant, forced by dire necessity, weads his way to the busy haunts of life, and the surplus population abandon the centers of activities to seek relief in the sparsely settled regions of the West. Labor is a commodity and is bought and sold like every other commodity, at the cost of production. The cost of producing labor power is the cost of the means essential in the maintenance of the toiler and his family. The necessary means of subsistence must be computed according to the requirements of society, or the standard of living that prevails at a particular time in the history of the nation. In rural districts, social requirements are very limited, and wages fall proportionately. In cities, where social requirements are greater, wages are correspondingly higher. The salary of girls for the same quality and quantity of labor is smaller than the salary of men, for the requirements of girls are not as extensive as the requirements of men.

This explains the persistent employment of women and children in factories and other establishments, in strict violation of legal enactments. In discussing the question of wages we must not confine our analysis to a single laborer or one kind of industry, but must compare the total sum paid in wages with the total number of laborers; \$1.40 is the average wage paid in the United States, and this amount is just sufficient to meet the requirements of the average laborer.

With the centralization of industry and the multiplication of machinery, the demand of labor will constantly diminish, and competition will reduce wages to the lowest possible point upon which the laborer can live and reproduce. This is the iron law of wages, formulated by Lassalle, and admitted by all the leading writers on political economy. Seventy-five per cent of the population are today virtually dispossessed, enslaved, dependent on the will of their economic masters, deprived of a home, compelled to shift here and there, deprived of education, oppressed and degraded, and the rising generation of toilers are being educated with every step along the path of progress, and venturate in national demoralization, degradation and retrogression.

Capitalism which flourishes on the exploitation of labor is responsible for these evils, and Socialism, which would give the laborer the product of his toil, which would eliminate profits, which would put an end to oppression and injustice, would prevent these evils, and in this way all in house, clothing, educational facilities, and would bless the world with freedom, joy, plenty, equality and intellectual glory.

Today we have the indolent and lazy, who live on the wealth created by the honest toiler. The laborer builds houses and the lazy live in them; the laborer tills the soil and reaps the grain, and the idle eat the fruit; the laborer weaves the silks and satins, and the idle wear them; the laborer goes down into the bowels of the earth and extracts the diamonds and precious stones, and the idle wear the neck of the lazy; the laborer warms the hearthstones of the lazy, while their own hearthstones are cold and cheerless. Under Socialism we will follow the admonition of St. Paul, "If any man will not work, neither shall he eat."

The archbishop says: "One of the strongest objections to Socialism is the hope of acquiring a competency." Under Socialism such would be the case, but the contrary is true today. Socialism does not advocate absolute equality, but only economic equality, or equality of labor. All values are created by labor. I exchange a coat for a pair of shoes. The labor in the coat is qualitatively different from the labor in the shoes, and therefore we must compare them quantitatively, and in order to do this it is necessary to reduce the labor incorporated in each article to abstract labor time. In this way all kinds of labor are compared. Abstract labor time is taken as a unit by which concrete useful labor is measured. The mechanic spends a number of years in acquiring a knowledge of his trade, and his time is incorporated in his concrete labor and hence in the value of the abstract units in his concrete labor. This is the reason that mechanics command higher wages than the toiler on the street; the clerk commands higher wages than the porter; the physician and the lawyer command higher wages than the manual laborer. Socialism aims to establish equality of abstract labor time. If there would be a natural tendency to the more honorable position, that would prove that the remuneration in those positions would be more than just measured according to abstract labor time, and consequently the matter could be adjusted to meet all the wants of society by reducing the compensation for services in the more inviting vocations.

Socialism is an economic question, and does not propose to interfere with the family and religion. The great objection to Socialism is the charge of communism, which he unconsciously identifies with Socialism.

"Another great objection to Socialism," says the archbishop, "is its anti-Christian spirit. The great leaders of Socialism are anti-Christian." The great leaders of science today are anti-Christian, but that does not make science anti-Christian. St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, St. Gregory the Great, first pope of the name; in fact, all the early fathers, together with Baron Ketteler, archbishop of Munster, denounced the doctrine of private property, and I presume that his grace of New York would not call these heroes of the church anti-Christian.

Under Socialism religion will conquer the globe, education will expand and science will dazzle the world with its glittering sheen. T. McGRADY, Rector of St. Anthony's Church, Bellevue, Ky.

Uncle Ike on Education.

You referred to education when you preached Thanksgiving day. And the only fault I find is 'bout the things you didn't say: Uncle Ike adores the babies and the kindergarten school, And believes the man that doesn't is a natural knave or fool.

But instid of its belongin' to the rich and easy class, Why not make it free and common, why not have it bless the mass, Makin' it a part an' parcel of our education plan? And we'll when dollars quit a-belin' bigger than the man.

Yes, I think we should be thankful for our glorious deestrist school, And we'll have to rally round it if the people are to rule; For the king of steel and railroads think it's all right rather dear, And it isn't payin' business to support the thing they fear.

Yes, I know them plucky teachers downed them in the local court, But the question isn't settled till they git the last report, From the bench that nint elected by the patrons of the schools, But have got their jobs by bein' plant corporation tools.

Then the forty thousand children in Chicago's feasterin' streets That can find no welcome schoolroom where the mullin' teacher greets, Must grope on in moral darkness jist because of the expense, And there's a nary eye pupil dures to come to their defense.

Then jist think about the fact'res where our babies toil and slave; Parson, it's enough to make old Abe turn over in his grave; For this fact'ry slavery, parson, makin' us again the school, Whether in the North or Southland, threatens death to freedom's rule.

But you say the many millions which the colleges have had From the kings of oil and railroads nurely ought to make us glad; But there's strings to them donations and the colleges must teach Nothin' that can harm the givers, jist as you weak preachers preach.

Parson, I've got dose a thankin' God for Rockefeller's schemes, And I tremble for our country when I see it fairly teems With his willin' tools and servants waitin' for his beck and nod, Crawlin' 'on their knees to mammon, playin' that they're servin' God. TRENTON, MO. GEORGE MCA. MILLER.

What the Poor Man Wanted.

The slave had been loaded up for a trip to the city. His master had piled up all the produce he could tie on and then he got up on the poor fellow's back. The slave was very strong, his muscles were hardened by toil and exposure and

he got along fairly well. But after a time his steps began to lag. They reached the city. The streets were thronged. He stumbled, fell headlong and flat on the ground with his burden and his owner on top of him. He struck his head against a boulder and lay unconscious, moaning with pain and strug-

gling to rise. A village professor came along and saw the slave lying prone on his face with the burden and the owner on his back, heard him moan and saw his efforts to get up, and he took a very intelligent owl-like look and softly asked, "Why what does the man want? Education I suspect, a more intimate acquaintance with the higher learning," and he passed on. A preacher of the gospel passed by and he too saw the slave and he paused and then he asked, "Why, what does the man want? A harp and crown in the great hereafter. I will pray for him." A politician also came down the street and he beheld the sad plight of the slave and he too asked in great interest, "Why, what does the poor man want? He needs more taxation and less to pay it with, and I will give it to him." Then there came along a hrunny son of toil and the multitude said to him, "What do you think the poor man wants?" He replied, "He wants that burden off his shoulders and then let him up." And the people all cried, "Thou Demagogue." —Clifton Argus.

Items of General Interest.

The highest mine in the world is a tin mine at Oruro, Bolivia, 14,000 feet above the sea.

Last year Minnesota mills turned out 28,630,500 barrels of flour, churned over 60,000,000 pounds of butter.

Nearly 70,000 tons of corks are needed for the bottled beer and naterated waters consumed annually in Britain.

The number of children working in the factories of Germany today is little more than one-third of what it was in 1890.

French economists declare Europe can become independent of United States cotton if they will only encourage the natives of Persia and Africa to grow it.

A harvesting machine firm in the West has cut an automobile grass mowder that cut twenty-two acres of grass in nine hours, using a five-foot sickle bar. The government of New Zealand is still pursuing its policy of buying large estates from the proprietors and cutting them up into holdings for men of small means.

SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

State Executive Board Meeting.

A meeting of the state executive board of Wisconsin was held December 15. A meeting was arranged for January 5, 1902, at which the non-resident members of the board will be expected to attend.

Communications were read from the national secretary and from branches 3 and 34 and the fifteenth ward branch. The secretary was instructed to issue a referendum to all the branches for a vote upon the board's nominations for state secretary, state treasurer and state literary agent.

It was also decided to issue a referendum on the tie vote between Comrades Seidel and Brockhausen.

The secretary was also instructed to write to all out-of-town branches which have not paid their dues for the present quarter. Milwaukee branches in arrears to be personally notified.

The matter of printing membership cards was left to Comrades Heath and Thomas, and the secretary was empowered to purchase account and minute books and other necessary stationery and to write to a Chicago firm in regard to the printing of charters.

Action was deferred in regard to party banners.

The secretary reported the following receipts:

Branch 33, dues	2.40
Branch 51, dues	2.70
Manitowish Branch, dues	1.35
Balsam Lake Branch, dues	1.50
Branch 39, dues	1.45
Total	\$9.80

Balance in Treasury \$9.00

Simons in Debate.

At the very time when senators were debating the Anarchist question there was a meeting of Socialists and Anarchists in Chicago to hear a discussion of "Socialism against Anarchy" by champions of either side. A. M. Simons represented Socialists and denounced assassination, claiming that the righting of social injustice was open to peaceful attainment through the ballot box. Abraham Isaak, editor of Free Society, the Anarchist publication, represented the other side, and when Simons declared that Isaak's paper condones the assassination of McKinley and apologizes for the assassin, but does not dare to come out openly and advocate assassination, cries of "You're a liar!" came from the Anarchist side of the house, and there was a great uproar, with alternate hisses and cheers for what the Socialist had charged. Isaak openly endorsed the sentiments of those who said Simons was a liar in charging that the Anarchists dared not openly endorse "Colossus's" crime.

"Hiss away," said Simons, facing the Anarchists; "I have faced hisses before, but will say in the face of all your hisses that assassination is mean, despicable, and, what is worse, absolutely useless and unnecessary."

City Central Committee.

The meeting of the central committee on December 16 was presided over by Comrade Tuttle, and the roll call showed a large attendance at the meeting.

Branch No. 8 reported three applications for membership; Branch 1, one application; Branch 10, one application; Branch 15, one application.

A credential was received naming Comrade Olsen from Branch No. 17 as delegate to the central committee, and on motion the credential was accepted and delegate seated.

The committee in charge of the entertainment of December 8 reported the prospects for a handsome surplus from the receipts of this very enjoyable entertainment.

The committee having in charge the proposed Socialist Fair reported that very fine progress had been made in the preliminary work. The committee reported that the date of the opening of the fair had been set for February 24, and that the fair would continue until March 2. The committee requested that the committee be enlarged and the chairman appointed the following comrades as additional members to the committee on fair: Fred Heath, Howard Tuttle, Rich. Elmer, A. S. Edwards, John Doerflinger.

The comrades proceeded to discuss the report of the committee on convention. It was the opinion of convention committee that the labor unions could be invited to participate in the city convention of the party. The representation, on motion, was fixed at three delegates, one from the Federated Trades council and one delegate at large from each union and one delegate for every 100 members.

The representation of the wards to the city convention was fixed at one delegate for every fifty voters east at the last general election. The convention committee on motion was authorized to issue a call for a city convention to be held on either Friday evening, January 31, or Saturday evening, February 1.

The state executive board having perfected its organization it was on motion that all branches in the city be asked to pay up their state dues by the first of January, 1902.

A committee on campaign speakers was appointed to secure Eugene V. Debs, Father McGrady, Seymour Stedman and others.

GENERAL NOTES.

Montana Socialists will hold state convention at Helena on New Year's day.

George A. Bigelow will make a tour of Indiana in January.

Indiana now has thirty-nine counties organized.

A. B. Edler of Salt Lake City has been elected national committeeman from Utah.

The state convention of Colorado Socialists will be held at Denver December 29.

Samuel F. Claflin has been elected national committeeman from New Hampshire.

Fair and Winter Festival—February 24 to March 2. Watch these columns for particulars.

A convention of the Socialist party of Oklahoma will be held at Klagfisher, December 27.

The vote of the party at Rockville, Conn., for mayor, increased from 171 to 209.

A Pacific coast lecture circuit, including California, Oregon and Washington, has been organized.

Campbell county, Kentucky, gave 517 votes for the Socialist party. Last fall the vote was 205. The principal vote was at Newport.

Santiago Iglesias, the Socialist, who was imprisoned in Porto Rico for organizing the working people, is holding mass meetings on the island and having great success in uniting the laborers.

C. H. Coulter, candidate of the Socialist party for re-election as mayor of Brockton, was defeated. He was beaten by a Republican, without a combination of the old parties.

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Upon request of the District Council, United Garment Workers, St. Louis, the national secretary has consented to act as arbitrator in a dispute between that organization and the Schmitz & Schroeder Clothing company.

J. Stitt Wilson, who has been treated to an experience of the old S. L. F. methods by the "Scientific" members of the Socialist party at San Francisco, is, as we declared in these columns weeks ago, a member of the party and is now being endorsed by the California comrades outside of "Local S. F."

The national committee has issued state charters to Utah and Maine. Local charters have been issued to Coyote, Utah; Fallis, Okla.; Edd, Okla.; Pawnee, Okla.; Glencoe, Okla.; New Elm, Minn.; Wyoming, Minn.; Two Harbors, Minn.; Chico, Mont.; Norwood, Cal.; Goldfield, Cal.; Victor, Cal.; Globe, Ariz.; Winslow, Ariz.; Hot Springs, Ark.

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The severely cold weather prevented the usual large attendance at the last Sunday night lecture, but those who were present heard an admirable lecture on the "Ethics of Socialism" by Comrade E. H. Thomas. The next lecture, Sunday evening, December 29, will be given by J. W. Hass, an attorney of this city.

Among the known Socialists in the American Federation convention were the following: J. W. Slayton, representing the Carpenters' International; Aug. Priesterbach, Ernest Bohm, J. P. Weigand and Charles M. Nichols of the Brewery Workers; J. M. Barnes of International Cigar-makers; Charles Goble of the Amalgamated Glass Workers; Max Hayes of Cleveland; N. P. Geiger of Dayton, O.; Elmer Sinyover of Mauch Chunk, Pa.; W. J. Brimmer of St. Louis; Gabriel Joseph of Philadelphia; George N. Warde of Erie, Pa.; C. F. Quinn of Wilkesbarre; F. W. Hall of Kansas City and H. A. Smith of Pittsburgh, Kas.; Fred Brockhausen of the Federated Trades' council, Milwaukee.

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